

[CP: 15b] Tachi

226 Fish poison (yao/ha) was made from a white
278 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped
up in baskets as they came to the surface. The
same flower was used in an infusion for head-
aches; it grows commonly on the plains (not
identified). Another poison, undescribed,
called t'li'l, was mentioned by M.G.

● 223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were
caught with nets set up among the tules, but
the exact manner of operation of the nets could
not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for
Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, with-
in my sight, they caught many with snares which
they had in the lake."³⁹

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness
description from the Tachi.

Sometimes three or four Indians would go
out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and
hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long
as a week. During this time they poled the
raft around through the tules and ate and slept
on it.

They would throw loose tules over the raft
and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through
the hole in the center they would slowly pole
the raft...In this way they would approach with-
in a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them
from the blind with bows and arrows.

Sometimes they would catch the ducks that
flew overhead with a net. This net was a good
deal like the net fishermen use to take trout
out of the water after they have hooked them.
It was about two feet across the mouth. They
also snared ducks and geese among the tules.⁴⁰

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was
the staple.⁴¹ It was not put in a mortar at
first, but in a depression in the ground, where
it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and
pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed
a mush called so'pas:n sa'sa. There is a
doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu'muk) were gathered, dried,
pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule
seeds (taos) were also used. Before they
ripened, the tule heads were tied together in
bunches where they were growing. When ripe,
the seeds were knocked off into a basket and
the heads released. In February J.A. said,
"We should be going around now to see how they
are getting along. Then maybe next month tie
them up."

[48] Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
were available to the Tachi. They went up
there after them; men climbed the trees and
shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while
women collected them in burden baskets.

³⁹Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

⁴⁰Letts, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

⁴¹On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with
"large leaves and red berries."

[P. 52a] Tubatulabal NS22

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known. The clapper (taw' tw'1) and cocoon rattle (sa' nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.¹³¹

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Hunting.---F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitaniha (Tubatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

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The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

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In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.¹³²

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Tobacco.---Tobacco (so' gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi' wes) and pestle (pa' lwi), crushed shells (ta' sep) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha' la) or an elderwood pipe (wi' se' ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so' gon and politsi' na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

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Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called y' ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

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Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta' nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

¹³¹Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Webomah Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

¹³²Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

[P. 56a] Wukchumni
Western Mono NS25

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although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

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The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

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To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

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The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

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The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

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Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunya, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

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The Eastern Mono, called Mona 'zi by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa'tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

[P. 706]

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts. There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change¹⁶⁸ Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer-- he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [meets] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."¹⁶⁹ A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid \$3.00 to \$5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about \$2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

¹⁶⁸Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

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¹⁶⁹The Kavaio, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

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223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river,
completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.¹⁷⁰ It is the only place he
can be buried. He rises in three days and goes
back to his home which is way back east some-
where. At that place there is one main one
(*meta to h'el*) who says to the risen bird, "Who
killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to
him, and if he has been treated properly the
head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man;
he will live to be an old man." If the report
was not good, then the man would die right away.
The eagle who had been killed never again re-
turned to earth, but kept flying in the oppo-
site direction, upward, higher and higher
(S.G.).¹⁷¹

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved
to be condor (*wets*), "who lived high in the
mountains," the bald eagle (*wi'tis*), and grey
eagle (*toh'el*), who was "the only real *tiya*
(chief) and the only one that knew anything."
Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two
and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G.
saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap
four days. It did not move as he approached,
but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
137 bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit
"because he [*rabbit*] was a little bit mean too,"
but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talk-
ing to them about what he was going to do. When
he was near his prey he would say, "*ṭundi'ta*
pō'dta ma ṭup'nita," (? ? you go-up) so
that it would not be offended. When hunting
this same animal or its companions, the hunter
would be agreeable to it. He would tell it
that he would "fix up" its body so that it
would go up, *ṭi p'ni*. "A mean animal is one
that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs
away so as not to be killed. In old days a
bear would run after people and kill them. A
Bear man would go out in the night and prayer-
fully ask Bear not to keep people from getting
their food" [*chasing them when they were hunt-
ing, gathering acorns or clover, etc.*].

Deer hunting.---When stalking deer or
antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of
either animal, though it was said that the most
skilled hunters did not resort to this.

287 The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
made of the entire skin and antlers. In skin-
ning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on
the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

¹⁷⁰In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals
transformed themselves into their present forms. However,
in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a ration-
alization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in
water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally
and in their myths.

171 The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in
the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

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[P. 74b]

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

- 223 Bird hunting.---Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.¹²¹
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[237] The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

- 223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (So'owin). They had their own booths up there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.
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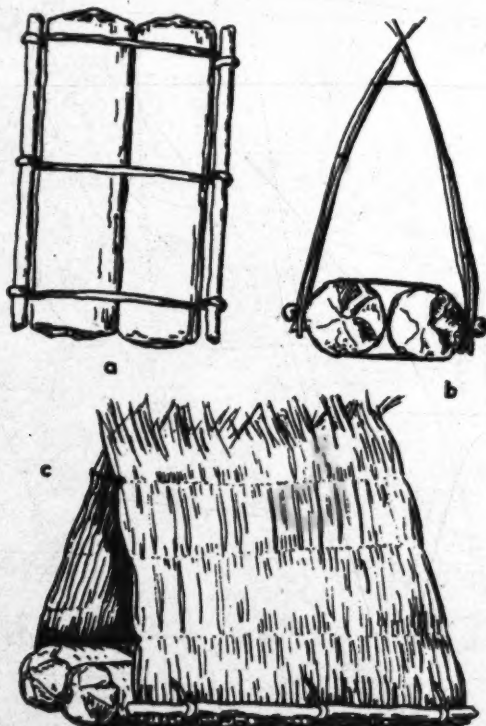


Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[P. 75a]

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A floating hunting blind, described by S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit:k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled, about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

[SD]

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Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit:k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

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Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po'hot), tree squirrels (sa'nsa'wide't), gophers (hu'nhed) and chipmunk (aho'öt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

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The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet long; different lengths were used for different

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The fire fan (file 't:l, Michahai; tu'ohi'dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

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Pigeon snaring.---Pigeons (šo'ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ti toho'noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ti p'n ma te'e' niši', up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša' was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa'nis a'tm:n šoni (place down-their pigeon).¹⁶⁰

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The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

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¹⁶⁰S.O. said, "You just said 'pa'namin' for short, just like slang."

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inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi'it toho'na min šo'ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo'nin, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa'omus ipo'ku'k, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče'yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poŋs, "When Eagle made

1: Gayton

E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 221 b] Western Mono NS 25

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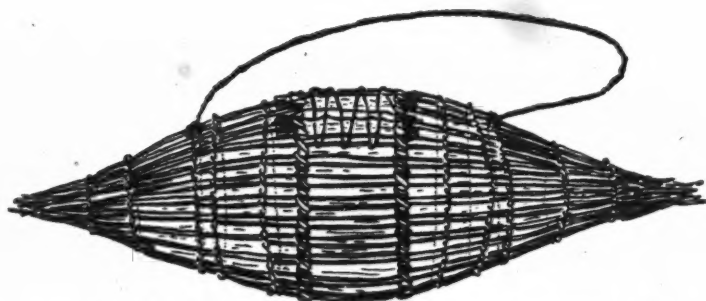


Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

[P. 221C] Western Mono NS25

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423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go
to that salt water at Tušao."

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223 The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in
343 the same manner as that on the ground. It was
a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches
tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited
conditions. A beam to sit on was the main con-
sideration. The tree chosen was one in which
pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took
several of the noose-poles with him and laid
them out in various directions in the branches

around him. As the birds came to roost at
dusk, they were snared with the poles most con-
veniently placed. A common practice of men who
owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree
before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a
decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar
to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The
decoys were always six in number, let out in
three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple
noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the
feeding platform, but this method never got
more than one bird a day and was used only by a
man who lacked decoys.

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Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
well as for decoys. In either case they were
lodged in cages (mapuwu'na) like the Michahai
pigeon cages and tamed by the following method.
The bird was held between the knees and a few
tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were
set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head
down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it
was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it
promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always
tame" (B.O.).

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The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber
for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably
Yaudanchi).¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there
saw a single decoy used.

accepted, he took the bird down¹⁶⁷ and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,¹⁶⁸ and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, Kilmışet, winatum, and the chief, Pao'č, at Tušao.

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, Kilmışet, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and Kilmışet stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'č was helped by all his ainč." Then the old man would jerk the rope and Kilmışet would help hoist him up.

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'č and Kilmışet "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"¹⁶⁹ but its young were not taken.

Bear---Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

¹⁶⁷The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

¹⁶⁸I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

¹⁶⁹The identification of tua kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulba. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

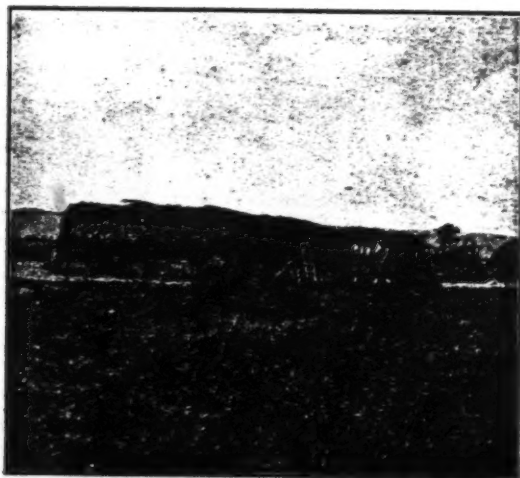
NS29 Yokuts NS29

SERRANO NS20

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 78 PLATE 46

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DESERT CAHUILLA THATCHED HOUSE

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SOUTHERN FOOTHILL YOKUTS PLATFORM
AND BOOTH FOR SNARING PIGEONS

[Facing p. 525]

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry. 224

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds. [789]

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed. 223

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles. [782]

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *rademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the 226 [285]

- 411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

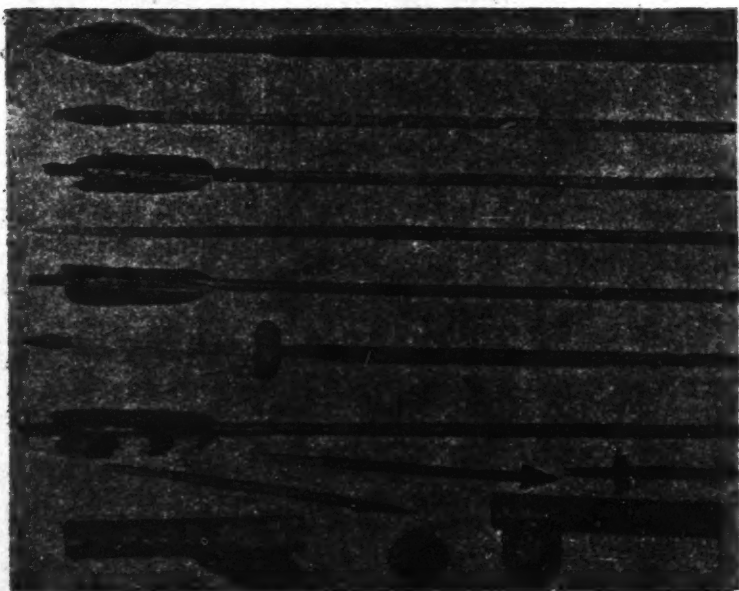
BOATS.

- 501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

- 285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder
531 was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These
[237] "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is
285 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south,
531 except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, 171
Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however, as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the
285 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less
171 specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

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ARROWS AND TOOLS

Top shows a fore-shafted javelin. Second from top is a one-piece arrow. Third, fifth and seventh from top show the use of red-tailed hawk feathers. Fourth from the top shows a wooden foreshaft. Sixth from the top shows the skip-bomb arrow. Eighth from the top shows, left to right, foreshafts used for squirrels, war and birds.

Bottom, left and right, shows chipped stone knives set in wooden handles by means of asphaltum. Center is a skip-bomb roll of tule for use on the javelin shown at the top.

All of the above were made by Wehumcheh, last surviving man from the Yowlumne tribe.

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Bird fore-shafts had a sharp wooden point with two crossed pairs of small sticks attached to it by sinews about an inch and a half from the point. Yokuts claim that this point would not glance off the feathers of the bird, but would pull many of them out, tearing the skin, and badly bruising the body. This point also often broke the wing of a bird when an ordinary arrow would not.

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Squirrels were shot with a wooden pointed foreshaft having a barb attached to it about two inches from the point. The projecting foreshaft prevented the squirrel from crawling

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Yokuts arrow straighteners and the tools with which they were made. These were all unearthed for the author by Ichow, an aged Wukchamnan. He had seen his grandfather bury them about 1885, "During the white man's big war," said Ichow.

At the top left is a sharp fragment of hard blue stone used to peck the articles to shape and to the right are four more which through use have been reduced to hammer stones. At the left, center row, is a stone which shows hammer-stone marks and which was discarded because it contained a flaw. To the right is another which broke while being made. The other four show varieties of construction. The completed arrow straightener was heated in the fire and used to harden and straighten the cane arrow shafts. Buttonwillow and gooseberry shafts were most often dried and hardened over an open fire.

down a hole and the barb prevented the foreshaft from slipping from the wound.

A most ingenious device was used on ordinary water-proofed stone-pointed foreshafts for shooting ducks when they were resting on water. An ordinary arrow dives or is stopped almost as soon as it touches the water. To prevent this the Yokuts slipped a small roll of tules on the foreshaft. This lodged against the ferrule on the end of the main shaft. When the arrow struck the water the roll of tules prevented its diving and allowed it to skip forward on top of the water. It was the original skip-bomb weapon.

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224 over to the trigger. Rabbits were snared in run-ways, or by rocks where their trails were constricted and where they could not escape the noose. Larger game, such as foxes, coyotes, and raccoons were snared in much the same way, but by means of much larger and stronger equipment. The Indians blocked with brush all trails except the one on which the snare was set. A limb of a tree or a bush was then bent downward and fastened by a trigger.

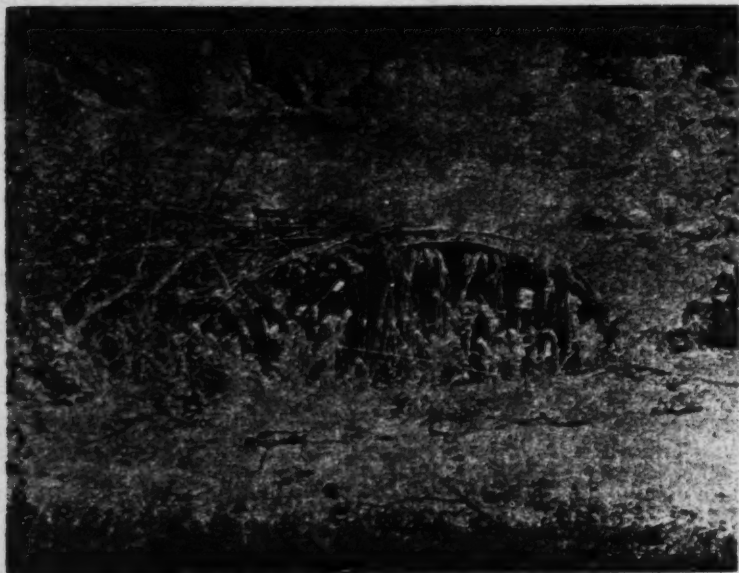
Elk were snared where they were in the habit of approaching water among the tules and where it was easy to confine them to a narrow path. A large willow or oak was selected and one of the upper branches bent downward and fastened to a lower branch by means of the same kind of trigger used in snaring smaller game.

The noose was suspended from the end of the upper branch and was fastened so as to become entangled in the horns of the animal. When the trigger was released the upper branch sprang upward and held the elk until the Indians arrived and dispatched it with arrows.

● 223 The most interesting system of snaring known by Yokuts Indians was that used in taking wild pigeons. It was done from a blind by means of a long stick which had attached to it a small loop of stiff milkweed string. The pigeons were generally baited in front of the blind for several days before the snaring was begun. The Indian entered the blind early in the morning and attracted the pigeons by means of a decoy pigeon.

The decoy was sometimes a stuffed pigeon skin, but it was more often a live bird, blindfolded and perched on a stick similar to that used in making the snare. One leg was attached to the stick by a short string. The Indian held the stick a short distance from the ground and moved it about, causing the blindfolded pigeon to flap its wings in order to keep from falling. The flapping wings attracted other pigeons.

The snare was allowed to lie on the ground with the loop over the bait. When a pigeon was standing over the loop the stick was given a slight twist. This caused the loop to rise around the feet or neck of the wild bird. The stick was then quickly jerked into the blind, bringing the pigeon with it. The Indian broke the neck of the pigeon between his fingers and held it between his knees while he removed the snare and placed the pigeon in a sack to keep it from further disturbing the other wild birds by struggling.



Pidgeon blind built by Chamsuh, a *Koyeti*, on Tule River about 1920. The hunter lay under the brush blind and peeked out through the grass curtain. The pidgeon snare was rested across the stick in front of the curtain. Bait was placed on the level platform in the foreground.

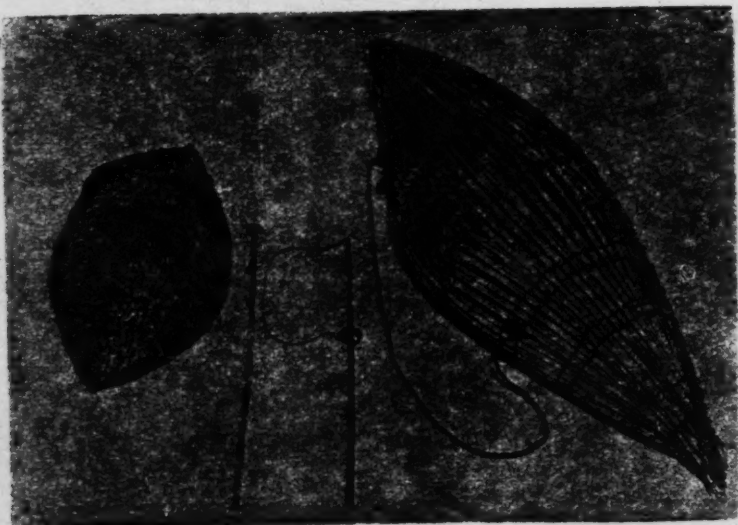
The snare was quickly replaced and the decoy maneuvered above it. The wild birds would almost immediately return. Then the process was repeated. We are told by old Indians that in this way several dozen pigeons were often taken in less than an hour.

Stalking of most game was comparatively simple. It consisted of working from the leeward, using the various cover which presented itself, and approaching within shooting range of the game. Some game was not easy to take in this way. Elk are said to have been quite wary and it was necessary to keep them from water for sometime before it was possible to approach very close to them. It was not necessary to stalk antelope, as they were more easily taken by the surround described previously. 224

The most interesting system of stalking was that used in taking deer, the most wary of all such wild game. The most de-

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At the left is a *Koyeti*, and right a *Wukchumne* decoy pigeon cage. At the left center is a *Chukaimine* pigeon snare, having a spur to prevent the ring from sliding down the pole and closing the loop. At the right center is a *Yowlumne* pigeon snare. These snares are about six feet long.

tailed and interesting description of this practice was that furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choinimne* Yokuts on upper Kings River and who left a more or less detailed account of his experiences. The Mayfield story follows:

"When I was quite young the Indians used to kill many deer by stalking and shooting them with the bow and arrow. For this sort of hunting they prepared the horns and hide of the deer and placed it over themselves.

"The head of the deer was hollowed out and fitted over the head of the hunter. The skin covered the back of the hunter.

"A short stick was carried in the right hand, and was used, when the hunter bent forward, to imitate the forelegs of a deer. The bow and arrows were carried in the left hand.

"They would imitate a deer feeding and rubbing the horns on the brush and many other actions of the deer until they approached quite close to the game.

501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

[354] In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very effective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose
224 tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle.
● [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

159
166 Some Wowol Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were
484 living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them
361 across the lake on our boat.

If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat
159 and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother
166 took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around
484 to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about
a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they
[223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

159 The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look
166 like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried
484 us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like
501 the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we
did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled
up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

159 The *tumlus* house was a quick house to make. They cut it 342 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the *tumlus* houses any more.

159 We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and 262 tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 223 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

159 Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There 224 were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] 411 arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

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[223] sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

133 Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agupa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

[621]
[62] Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don [Gabriel Moraga, and Agupa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose rancharia was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the rancharia, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

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[62] Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipieh [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the rancharia of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this rancharia must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

[361]
[62] I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this rancharia] guided by two natives of Coyaipieh, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Rancharia of Chojinoeko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small